

**File #:**

62-HQ-116395

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**Serial Scope:**

EBF 1073

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~TOP SECRET~~

TO : SAC (100-111180)

DATE: 4/17/64

FROM : SA JAMES M. KIRBY (414)

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

SUBJECT: STANLEY LEVISON  
IS-C

Per CGW/571622  
Date 2/6/2016

On 4/9/64, NY 694-S\* made the following observations with regard to the CP status of STANLEY LEVISON:

LEVISON has been an important Party member for many years and never at any time differed with the Party with respect to the Party line. His only difference with the Party has been with respect to the fact that in his opinion the Party was not sufficiently "militant" in defending Negro rights. In this respect, he has been to the "left" of the Party. LEVISON's differences with the Party are merely "tactical." He has never criticized the Party, except with respect to the Party's handling of the Negro question. The fact that he does not accept domination by the Party with regard to the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement should not be construed to mean that he has broken with the Party in all respects. The Party today is as anxious to reestablish friendly relations with LEVISON as it was in the past.

It should be noted that LEVISON never has been officially "drummed out" of the Party, nor has anyone ever criticized him for being opposed to the Party's general principles. It further should be noted that according to the CP Constitution, it would require formal expulsion of LEVISON to state that he is officially out of the Party.

LEVISON never has said anything reflecting that he does not continue to be a CP member. It should be noted that it would be in the interests of the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement, with which he is associated, if he would publicly repudiate the Party, which he has never done. It should be further noted that in an effort to renew friendly relations

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

JMK:nmd  
(1)

100-111180-111d

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
APR 17 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten initials and signatures]*

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62-116375-1073

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NY 100-111180

with LEVISON, the Party designated BEN DAVIS to contact LEVISON. LEVISON had always expressed the opinion that BEN DAVIS was the only CP functionary who had a sufficiently "militant attitude" as regards CP activities in behalf of the Negro movement. The fact that DAVIS and LEVISON as yet have not met should not be construed to mean that LEVISON has refused to confer with DAVIS. As NY 694-S\* understands the situation, DAVIS has been awaiting contact by LEVISON, and LEVISON similarly has been awaiting contact by DAVIS. Each of these individuals is sufficiently egotistical to expect that the other would make the first move in an effort to establish contact. NY 694-S\* believes that probably the reason why DAVIS and LEVISON have not met is that arrangements for their meeting were to be made by LEM HARRIS and that HARRIS has not made the proper efforts to effect a meeting between LEVISON and DAVIS.

NY 694-S\* has never obtained any information reflecting that LEVISON has changed his thinking with regard to Marxism. Even though his present estrangement from the Party might be construed as reflecting he is no longer a CP member, there is no reason to come to the conclusion that LEVISON is no longer an ideological Communist.

JACK talked to LEM HARRIS yesterday who said he contacted STAN LEVENSON by phone and was given a cordial hello which was a change from the past when he was cool.

LEM said he had not seen LEVENSON, tried to call him and would like to see him immediately to which LEVENSON said, "I would like very much to see you but I don't have the time now. I'm leaving and packing for a trip. I will be glad to see you in six weeks."

LEVENSON implied that he was going to Ecuador but LEM doesn't know why. There was no anger shown, and LEVENSON will see LEM when he returns in six weeks.

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

FROM : SA FRANCIS T. LEONARD

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
IS-C

DATE: 7/26/63

The following is being submitted as a revised characterization of the subject:

STANLEY LEVISON is a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA).

NY T-  
July 16, 1963

NY T- is NY 694-S\*.

A three by five card has been prepared containing the above characterization and will be filed in the library of the NYO.

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per: C982057B22  
Date: 4/6/2016

NY (100-111180) (414)  
FTL:rmv R71V  
(1)

*make 1 copy copy*

*134-11 (100-111180) 7/21/63*

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification indefinite

*134-91-3549*

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 1 1963	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten initials]*

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI  
Date: 6/13/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)  
Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (<sup>100-106670</sup>~~100-166670~~)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

~~TOP SECRET~~

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
SM - C  
(OO: ATLANTA)

DOWNGRADED TO  
**SECRET**  
Per C98W571322  
Date 6/6/2016

Extreme caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein inasmuch as, by its nature, said information tends to identify NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant, as the source. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY 694-S\*, it should not be included--even in paraphrased form--in the investigative section of a report.

- <sup>100-106670</sup>
- 7 - Bureau (100-166670) (RM)
    - (1 - 100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)
    - (1 - 100-358916) (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL)
    - (1 - 157-286) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
    - (1 - 100- ) (ROY LEVISON)
  - 2 - Atlanta (100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (INFO)(RM)
    - (1 - 157- ) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
  - 1 - Chicago (134-46-Inv.) (INFO)(RM)
  - 1 - NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
  - 1 - NY 100-111180 (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)
  - 1 - NY 100-91330 (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL) (414)
  - 1 - NY 100-111203 (ROY LEVISON) (414)
  - 1 - NY 100-7658 (LEM HARRIS) (414)
  - 1 - NY 157-826 (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (412)
  - 1 - NY 100-136585 (412)

ACB:gmg  
(20)

*WSTW*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge.

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Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category \_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

*62-116395-1073*

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NY 100-136585

On 6/13/63, NY 694-S\* furnished the following information to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON:

On 6/12/63, LEMENT HARRIS, CPUSA Reserve Fund functionary, told NY 694-S\* that in a recent meeting with STANLEY LEVISON, the latter furnished him the following information:

The LEVISONs, particularly STANLEY, are still MARTIN LUTHER KING's "brain trust"--now more than ever before. This is so despite the fact that at a meeting of STANLEY LEVISON, ROY LEVISON, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, MARTIN LUTHER KING and "the Attorney General's chief assistant", the Attorney General's assistant, pointing to the LEVISONs and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, stated to MARTIN LUTHER KING, "These men are Party members; watch out for them."

MARTIN LUTHER KING did not "bat an eyelash" upon hearing the Assistant Attorney General's remark, and after the latter left the meeting, those in the group smiled at each other. STANLEY LEVISON said to KING, at this time, "I congratulate you on the way you acted regarding his warning. You are a real Marxist-Leninist. This is how a true Marxist-Leninist acts."

Everything that KING does he first discusses with STANLEY LEVISON and he accepts LEVISON's advice wholeheartedly. KING also wholeheartedly accepts the advice of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL as regards matters within the latter's local jurisdiction.

MARTIN LUTHER KING was asked by a group of newspaper reporters whether he takes orders from "the Communists" and also, whether he took "orders from STANLEY LEVISON." KING's response was that he took orders only from God.

By reason of the fact that the LEVISONs feel that the Party has done little, if anything, to assist the fight

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NY 100-136585

for civil rights for Negroes, and further, since they feel that the Party, as a result of this "do nothing" attitude, has lost prestige, they will no longer permit the Party to dominate or control their activities in the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement. They are severing themselves, financially and in a disciplinary way, from the Party. The LEVISONs and O'DELL are still Party members, but do not desire to be openly "linked up" with the Party. Although they are "disenchanted" with the Party, they are not quitting the Party. With respect to the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement, they will act on their own initiative, and will not accept instructions from the Party.

LEM HARRIS then advised that the Party, however, still would like to control the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement. BEN DAVIS has been assigned to be "liaison or intermediary" with the LEVISONs and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. Whether or not the LEVISONs and O'DELL will maintain liaison regarding matters concerning the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement is a matter for them to decide. In view of LEVISON's statement with respect to advising MARTIN LUTHER KING independently of Party instructions, it would seem that DAVIS may not have any success in maintaining liaison with the LEVISONs and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. The LEVISONs and O'DELL are aware of the fact that BEN DAVIS has been given this assignment by the Party.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, according to LEM HARRIS, is referred to by such top Party functionaries as GUS HALL, BEN DAVIS, JIM JACKSON and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT as a "true, genuine, Marxist-Leninist from the top of his head to the tips of his toes." In the Party, the report is that MARTIN LUTHER KING is following a Marxist-Leninist line.

NY 694-S\* advised that he asked LEM HARRIS whether or not, to the latter's knowledge, MARTIN LUTHER KING was a member of the CPUSA. LEM HARRIS replied that he did not know.

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

8/30/62

SA FRANCIS T. LEONARD (415)

8/31

STANLEY LEVISON  
IS-C

The following characterization is being submitted for approval with respect to the subject:

NY T- who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on August 23, 1962, that STANLEY LEVISON is a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), and contributes funds to the CP on a regular basis.

NY T- is NY 694-S\*.

- ① - NY 134-91-INV.
- 1 - NY 100-111180 (415)

FIL: gmm  
(3)

134-91-3296  
891

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification

~~TOP SECRET~~



2/3

FBI

DATE: 2/12/62

Transmit the following via AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100 - )  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)  
SUBJECT: DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM-C (OO: Atlanta)

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Extreme caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein since, by its nature, it tends to identify NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY 694-S\*, it should not be incorporated - even in paraphrased form - in the investigative section of a report.

On 2/12/62, NY 694-S\* advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON as follows:

In a recent meeting with LEMENT HARRIS, CPUSA functionary associated with the CPUSA Reserve Fund operation, the informant was told by HARRIS that shortly before GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, went to the West Coast, HARRIS transmitted to HALL a "confidential verbal report" on Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, furnished to HARRIS by STANLEY LEVISON, KING's attorney and advisor, who is a secret member of the CP and a regular contributor to the CPUSA Rserve Fund. LEVISON's report was as follows:

- 4-Bureau (100- ) (RM)
- (1-100-392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)
- 1-Atlanta (100- ) (DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (RM)
- 1-NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
- 1-NY 100-111180 (STANLEY LEVISON) (415)
- 1-NY 100-7658 (LEMENT HARRIS) (415)
- 1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1-NY 100-136585 (412)

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per C98W57 B22  
Date 4/6/2016

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ACB:ume  
(11)

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Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
FEB 14 1962	

*Walt*

NY 100-136585

When Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING was invited to address the AFL-CIO convention some time ago, KING, on LEVISON's advice, first obtained approval to do so from A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH, negro labor leader, who, if he had not been consulted in the matter, might have felt that KING's making a speech at the aforesaid convention was a blow to RANDOLPH's prestige.

KING delivered a remarkably effective speech at the AFL-CIO convention, and, as a result, received invitations from numerous labor leaders, including "MC DONALD of Steel," to address their respective unions. As the outstanding champion of negro rights in the country, KING is a powerful political influence, recognized as such by the higher echelons of the Democratic Party. He has access to Attorney General ROBERT KENNEDY and President KENNEDY, who, politically, need KING, particularly in the South, where in cities like Atlanta and New Orleans the negro vote now constitutes the balance of power, and where KING controls the negro vote.

JAMES HOFFA, Teamsters Union "boss" appreciates the political power of KING, particularly the fact that KING can influence the 90,000 negro members of the Teamsters Union. HOFFA invited KING to address the Teamsters Union, and KING accepted the invitation. Knowing that KING is being deferred to by Attorney General KENNEDY, and President KENNEDY, HOFFA requested KING to contact the Attorney General in an effort to influence the latter "to lay off" HOFFA. KING was inclined to do as HOFFA requested, but LEVISON convinced him that to do so would be politically unwise, inexpedient, and likely to be a "boomerang," since the Attorney General would never accede to such a request, particularly in the case of HOFFA.

LEVISON had to steer KING away from another politically hazardous situation. Some months ago OTTO PREMINGER, Hollywood movie director, entered into negotiations with a KING representative for KING to play a part in a picture which PREMINGER would direct. Although PREMINGER's offer was "tempting," since it meant "fast, easy money" for KING's organization, LEVISON realized that for KING to accept the offer would lower the latter's prestige. After convincing KING of this fact, LEVISON personally telephoned to PREMINGER, telling him that "the deal was off."

NY 100-136585

What LEVISON particularly wanted GUS HALL to know is that "KING is a wholehearted Marxist, who has studied it (Marxism), believes in it, and agrees with it, but because of his being a minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly."

GUS HALL, according to HARRIS, was "elated" to receive LEVISON's report on LUTHER KING.

3/22  
~~TOP SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-102)

3/16/61

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-128861)

DOWNGRADED TO  
**SECRET**

SUBJECT: CP, USA FUNDS  
(RESERVE FUNDS)  
*IS-C*

Per C98W57B2  
Date 6/6/2016

On 2/20/61, NY 694-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSEN that the secret finance committee, composed of ISADORE WOFSY, LEMENT HARRIS and JACK CHILDS, operating the CP, USA National Office reserve fund, met on 2/16/61, in NYC. A report was given to the committee by ISADORE WOFSY concerning 1960 income of above fund: probable 1961 income, and a statement of reserve fund assets as of the beginning of 1961. This report is summarized as follows:

- 2- Bureau (100-3-102) (RM)
- 1- Boston (100-17116) (DOROTHY DOUGLAS) (RM)
- 2- Newark (RM)
  - (1-100-35161) (LOU ROBERTS)
  - (1-100-2974) (MARTHA STONE)
- 1- Philadelphia (100-30295) (CP FUNDS) (RM)
- 1- San Francisco (100-2247) (GRACE MC DONALD) (RM)
- 1- New York (134-91) (INV)
- 1- New York (100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (421)
- 1- New York (100-19679) (ISADORE WOFSY) (415)
- 1- New York (100-7658) (LEM HARRIS) (423)
- 1- New York (100-64061) (JACK CHILDS) (41)
- 1- New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-111203) (ROY LEVISON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-47632) (FRANCES DAMON) (415)
- 1- New York (100-68229) (VICTOR RABINOWITZ) (424)
- 1- New York (100-107164) (BENEDICT WOLF) (412)
- 1- New York (100-8048) (MARTIN POPPER) (352)
- 1- New York (100-93787) (PAUL MOSS) (424)
- 1- New York (100-128861) (415)

AJS:mmh  
(40)

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

134-91-2380

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Burlinson* | *ACB*

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NY 100-128861

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1- New York (100-116966) (HENRY WOLF) (424)  
1- New York (100-82558) (PHILIP JONES) (424)  
1- New York (100-25849) (EDWARD BARSKY) (425)  
1- New York (100-66938) (BOB COE) (41)  
1- New York (100-70303) (12th-13th Realty Corp) (41)  
1- New York (100-63188) (THOMAS RICHARDSON) (423)  
1- New York (100-134501) (Dutchess Realty Corp) (415)  
1- New York (100-79725) (Wingdale Camp) (41)  
1- New York (100-31769) (Prompt Press) (41)  
1- New York (100-58757) (DAVE FREEDMAN) (425)  
1- New York (100-94412) (F&D Printing Co.) (41)  
1- New York (100-47211) (STEVE NELSON) (424)  
1- New York (100-130351) (575 6th Ave. Realty Corp.) (41)  
1- New York (100-121151) (KNICKERBOCKER BINDERY) (41)  
1- New York (100-21421) (ALEX TRACHTENBERG) (415)  
1- New York (100-57557) (International Publishers) (415)  
1- New York (100-103949) (Imported Publications and Products) (41)  
1- New York (100-129629) (BILL ALBERTSON) (414)  
1- New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)  
1- New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)

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NY 100-128861

1960 DONATIONS

STAN and ROY (LEVISON)	\$12,000
FRANCES DAMON	3,200
Mrs. SMITH (DOROTHY DOUGLAS)	3,000
GRACE of California (GRACE MC DONALD)	3,000
LOU ROBERTS	300
VICTOR RABINOWITZ	3,000
WOLF, POPPER, ROSS, WOLF and JONES	3,000
Dr. EDWARD BARSKY (Group of doctors)	3,500
BOB COE	2,000
Wall Street Group	200
Building at 35 E. 12th St., NYC	6,000
Richardson Mortgage	800
Rental from Wingdale Camp	2,500
	<u>\$42,500</u>

ESTIMATED 1961 DONATIONS

STAN and ROY (LEVISON)	\$8,000
FRANCES DAMON	5,000*
Mrs. SMITH (DOROTHY DOUGLAS)	3,000
GRACE of California (GRACE MC DONALD)	3,000
LOU ROBERTS	2,000
VICTOR RABINOWITZ	2,000
WOLF, POPPER, ROSS, WOLF and JONES	3,000
Dr. EDWARD BARSKY (Group of doctors)	3,500
Building at 35 E. 12th St., NYC	6,000
Richardson Mortgage	800
Rental from Wingdale Camp	2,500
	<u>\$38,800</u>

DOWNGRADED TO

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Per CG8W57B22  
Date 6/6/2016

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NY 100-128861

\* A court decision is pending, due to be rendered this year, involving a large sum of money for DAMON. If the decision is favorable, DAMON may give a "very large" donation to the Party.

ASSETS AS OF 1/1/61

35 E. 12th St., Building, NYC	\$225,000
Prompt Press	75,000*
Wingdale, NY Camp	100,000
April Farm (Pennsylvania)	10,000
TOM RICHARDSON Home	9,000
US Government treasury bond in escrow with Attorney DAVID FREEDMAN on sale of F&D Printing Co.	5,000
Bail bonds (US Government Treasury bonds: MAX WEISS case-\$5,500; MARTHA STONE case \$2,000; STEVE NELSON case \$1,500)	9,000
Equity in 23 W. 26th St., Building	31,000
	<u>\$464,000</u>

\*Includes inventory and machinery of Knickerbocker Bindery as well as properties of New Union Press.

NY 694-S\* noted above listing of assets did not reflect funds held by ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG from the sale of the Jefferson School of Social Science building, nor the assets of International Publishers or Imported Publications and Products.

NY 694-S\* added that, according to WOFSY, BILL ALBERMSON is making an inquiry on the instructions of GUS HALL with regard to International Publishers with a view to reorganization. TRACHTENBERG is resisting this move, but GUS HALL is determined that changes should be made, especially

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NY 100-128861

to remove TRACHTENBERG from sole control of this organization.

NY 694-S\* also pointed out that henceforth GUS HALL is to be considered a member of above mentioned secret committee, and will be in constant touch with the other three members. PHIL BART, present CP, USA National Organizational Secretary, is to have no further connection with this committee.

Extreme caution must be utilized in handling and reporting the information set forth above in order to fully protect NY 694-S\*. No dissemination of this information should be made outside the Bureau without careful paraphrasing in such a way as not to disclose the source.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-102)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-128861)  
SUBJECT: CPUSA FUNDS  
(RESERVE FUNDS)  
IS-C  
(OO:NY)

DATE: 10/19/61

ReNYlet, 3/16/61, captioned as above, reflecting on page two thereof, estimated donations to the CPUSA Reserve Fund for 1961.

On 10/17/61, NY 694-S\* advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON that according to GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, he recently conferred with PAUL ROSS of the law firm of Wolf, Popper, Ross, Wolf, and Jones regarding the said law firm's making contributions to the CPUSA Reserve

- 3-Bureau (100-3-102) (RM)
- (1-100-341652) (ISADORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN)
- 1-NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
- 1-NY 100-111180 (STANLEY LEVISON) (415)
- 1-NY 100-111203 (ROY LEVISON) (415)
- 1-NY 100-122751 (DOROTHY DOUGLAS) (412)
- 1-NY 100-107164 (BENEDICT WOLF) (412)
- 1-NY 100-8048 (MARTIN POPPER) (352)
- 1-NY 100-93787 (PAUL ROSS) (424)
- 1-NY 100-116966 (HENRY WOLF) (424)
- 1-NY 100-82558 (PHILIP JONES) (424)
- 1-NY 100-78633 (ISADORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN) (33)
- 1-NY 105-38019 (WOLF, POPPER, ROSS, WOLF AND JONES) (331)
- 1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1-NY 100-19679 (ISADORE WOPSY) (415)
- 1-NY 100-128861 (415)

DOWNGRADED TO

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Per CGRW57B22  
Date 6/6/2016

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category X  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

ACB:ume  
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SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 19 1961	
FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>Burlinson</i>	<i>Q.C.P.</i>

NY 100-128861

Fund. ROSS, who was aware that the CPUSA was displeased with the insignificant contributions of his firm to the Party, and of the possibility that the Party might influence the Soviets not to do business with the firm in the future, made the following proposal to HALL: If the Party would refrain from any attempt to "black-ball" the firm with the Soviets, the firm henceforth, would contribute \$10,000 annually to the Party. HALL agreed to ROSS' proposal and it was then further agreed that ISADORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN should be the intermediary between the Party and the aforesaid law firm for collection of contributions of the firm to the Party.

During HALL's conference with ROSS, the latter stated that he personally has been contributing \$5000 annually to the Party. HALL knew nothing of this alleged contribution, but did not question ROSS about it since to do so might lead to the Party's being embarrassed. (NY 694-S\* commented that he too had no information regarding ROSS' alleged contribution).

HALL stated that NY 694-S\* should instruct ISADORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN to investigate the aforesaid alleged contribution of ROSS.

On 10/17/61, the informant contacted NEEDLEMAN at Beth Israel Hospital, where the latter is currently confined for a possible operation for the removal of kidney stones. NY 694-S\* bried NEEDLEMAN regarding HALL's discussion with PAUL ROSS and NEEDLEMAN agreed to investigate the alleged contribution of ROSS as soon as he should leave the hospital.

NY 694-S\* further advised that on 10/16/61, he had conferred with ISADORE WOFSY who reported that within the past few days he had received from STANLEY and ROY LEVISON a \$5000 contribution to the Reserve Fund, and from Mrs. SMITH (DOROTHY DOUGLAS) a contribution of \$3000 to the said fund.

1/4/62

~~SECRET~~

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-111100)  
SUBJECT: STANLEY LEVISON  
IS-C

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per C98W57022  
Date 6/6/2016

Extreme caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein since, of its nature, it tends to identify NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY 694-S\*, it should not be incorporated - even in paraphrased form - in the investigative section of a report.

On 1/4/62, NY 694-S\* advised SA ALEXANDER C. DURLINSON that during a contact on the aforesaid date with LEADON'S WOPSY, CPUSA Reserve Fund functionary, WOPSY stated the following:

STANLEY LEVISON is doing important work for the CPUSA in his role of advisor to the Southern negro leader LUMIER KING. LEVISON wrote the speech KING delivered at the AFL-CIO convention in Florida. He is active in KING's "right to vote movement" in the South, and was instrumental in raising \$200,000 for the said movement.

By reason of his association with KING, LEVISON has access to the White House - he has been in contact with President KENNEDY, Attorney General ROBERT KENNEDY, and important leaders of the AFL-CIO. He also has contact with numerous people in government.

In accordance with his previous commitment to do so, LEVISON contributed \$12,000 to the CPUSA National Office during 1961.

- 3-Bureau (100-392452) (RM)
- 1-NY 100-111100 (INV.) (41)
- 1-NY 100-111100 (CPUSA RESERVE FUNDS) (415)
- 1-NY 100-111100 (CPUSA RESERVE FUNDS) (415)
- 1-NY 100-111100 (415)

Approved

Classified by 216R  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1

~~SECRET~~

1-Supervisor #41

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JAN 11 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

4/21

SAC, NEW YORK (100-128861)

4/20/62

X

SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON

CPUSA FUNDS (RESERVE FUNDS)  
IS-C

On 4/19/62, NY 694-S\* advised that on the aforesaid date ISADORE WOF SY furnished the following information to the informant:

STANLEY LEVISON recently contributed \$2500 to the CPUSA Reserve Fund, the said sum representing the first partial payment of what he intends to contribute during 1962.

FRANCINE DAMON (FRANCES DAMON WILLIAMS) recently contributed \$1000 to the Reserve Fund.

The 12th-13th Corporation has contributed \$500 as a periodic contribution to the Reserve Fund.

According to WOF SY, as a result of the re-financing of the mortgage on the building at 35 E. 12th St. (12th-13th Corp.) a separate fund of \$43,000 of mortgage money is being set up as "a reserve within a reserve."

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per C98W571B22  
Date 6/6/2016

- 1-NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
- 1-NY 100-47632 (FRANCES DAMON WILLIAMS) (415)
- 1-NY 100-19679 (ISADORE WOF SY) (415)
- 1-NY 100-111180 (STANLEY LEVISON) (415)
- 1-NY 100-70208 (12th-13th St. CORP.) (41)
- 1-NY 100-128861 (415)

ACB:ume  
(6)

Classified by 2416  
Exempt from GDS, Category Z  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

134-91-2190

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

APR 21 1962

62-116395-1078

5/3

5/3/62

ENCODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

~~TOP SECRET~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)  
SAC, ATLANTA (100-5586)  
SAC, NEW ORLEANS

DOWNGRADED TO  
**SECRET**

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)

Per 098W57102  
Date 6/6/2019

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SM-C  
(OO:ATLANTA)

RENYAIRTEL, MAY ONE, NINETEEN SIXTY TWO, CAPTIONED AS ABOVE, REFLECTING THAT THE CPUSA HAD SENT "AN EXPERIENCED, PROFESSIONAL, SECRET ORGANIZER" TO NEW ORLEANS TO ASSIST THE MARTIN LUTHER KING GROUP THERE IN ITS FIGHT FOR POLITICAL EQUALITY OF NEGROES.

ON MAY SECOND, NINETEEN SIXTY TWO, NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S ASTERISK ADVISED SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON AS FOLLOWS:

ON MAY FIRST, NINETEEN SIXTY TWO, LEMENT HARRIS, CPUSA RESERVE FUND FUNCTIONARY, INFORMED NY SIX NINE FOUR DASH S ASTERISK THAT THE SECRET CP ORGANIZER SENT TO NEW ORLEANS TO ASSIST THE MARTIN LUTHER KING GROUP IS HOSEA HUDSON (BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH TWO FOUR FIVE FOUR EIGHT). ACCORDING TO HARRIS,

- 1-SUPERVISOR #41
- 1-134-91 INV. (41)
- 1-100-7658 LEMENT HARRIS (415)
- 1-NY 100-111180 STANLEY LEVISON (415)
- 1-100-91330 HUNTER PITTS O'DELL (415)
- 1-100-33317 HOSEA HUDSON (422)
- 1-100-136585 (412)

ACB:ume  
(7)

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

134-91-31 94

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 11 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Kam*

~~TOP SECRET~~

5/3/62

ENCODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

~~TOP SECRET~~

PAGE TWO

HUDSON, A NEGRO, WILL ACTUALLY OPERATE IN BATON ROUGE, AND WILL BE ASSOCIATED THERE WITH ONE "SARGEANT CAULFIELD," WHOM HARRIS DESCRIBED AS "A VERY POWERFUL POLITICAL FIGURE."

HARRIS INDICATED THAT HUDSON WILL REMAIN IN THE NEW ORLEANS-BATON ROUGE AREA FOR A PERIOD OF ONE YEAR.

HARRIS MADE A FURTHER COMMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT STANLEY LEVISON, BY REASON OF HIS ASSOCIATION WITH THE MARTIN LUTHER KING MOVEMENT, "IS DOING THE MOST IMPORTANT WORK IN THE CP TODAY." HARRIS ALSO REMARKED JUBILANTLY THAT BY REASON OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S BEING POLITICALLY DEPENDENT UPON THE MARTIN LUTHER KING MOVEMENT, WHICH CAN "SWING" THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE SOUTH, "THE PARTY HAS THE KENNEDYS IN ITS POCKET."

~~TOP SECRET~~

3/21/63

~~TOP SECRET~~

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

SUBJECT: STANLEY DAVID LEVISON  
IS - C  
(OO: NY)

Per C98457B22  
Date 6/6/2016

Extreme caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein inasmuch as, by its nature, said information tends to identify NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY 694-S\*, it should not be included - even in paraphrased form - in the investigative section of a report.

On 3/20/63, NY 694-S\* furnished the following information to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON:

On 3/20/63, the informant met with LEM HARRIS and ISADORE WOFPSY; and LEM HARRIS stated that on the previous day he had conferred with STANLEY LEVISON, who told him that he and "his group" had become "disenchanted" with the CPUSA for a number of reasons. According to the informant, WOFPSY asked HARRIS whether or not the LEVISON "group" did not include 11 people. HARRIS replied that it did.

- 5 - Bureau (100-392452) (Enc. 1) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-15251) (LEM HARRIS) (Enc. 1)
  - (1 - 100-3-102) (CPUSA - FUNDS (RESERVE FUNDS)) (Enc. 1)
- ① - NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-111203 (ROY LEVISON) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-7853 (LEM HARRIS) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-128861 (CP, USA - FUNDS (RESERVE FUNDS)) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-19579 (ISADORE WOFPSY) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-111180 (414)

FTL:mgg  
(12)

1 - Sup #414

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

134-91-3636

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAR 21 1963	
FBI - NEW YORK	

~~TOP SECRET~~

HARRIS, according to the informant, then handed to NY 694-S\* a memorandum which he had prepared reflecting the information furnished to him by LEVISON with respect to the reasons why he and his "group" had become "disenchanted" with the CPUSA. HARRIS stated that he intended to submit the details of the said memorandum to SCS HALL and to suggest to HALL that the latter confer with STANLEY LEVISON in order to prevent LEVISON and his "group's" severing relations with the CPUSA.

NY 694-S\* stated that although the memorandum, does not reflect the names, HARRIS told him that it reflected the details of the conversation which he had had with STANLEY LEVISON on the previous day. The informant stated that, undoubtedly, LEVISON's remarks were intended to include the sentiments of his brother, ROY, and very likely those of STANLEY's and ROY's wives. The informant was unable to furnish any information with respect to who the others in the LEVISON "group" might be.

Enclosed are three Xerox copies of the memorandum prepared by LEM HARRIS reflecting the information furnished to him by STANLEY LEVISON.

NYO will follow this matter closely and keep the Bureau advised of any new developments.

At this time the NYO is unable to identify the remaining seven individuals mentioned by HARRIS. Informant has been alerted to the need for obtaining this information. However, it is logical to assume that these individuals are those closely associated with the LEVISONs in their business and/or social activities. Probably amongst this group are:

JOE FILMER - Pittsburgh  
HARRY MILLER - Chicago  
ALICE LOEWI - New York  
VICTOR LUDWIG - Chicago  
RAY INGERSOLL - New York

The NYO will continue contact with informant in an attempt to identify these people.



7/10/63

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

~~SECRET~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-75)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80640)  
SUBJECT: CPUSA-NEGRO QUESTION  
IS - C

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per CGR 157622  
Date 6/6/2006

Extreme caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein inasmuch as, by its nature, said information tends to identify NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant, as the source. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY 694-S\*, it should not be included--even in paraphrased form--in the investigative section of a report.

On 7/10/63, NY 694-S\* furnished the following information to SAs WILLIAM G. CURRALL and ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON:

On 7/9/63, GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, stated that as regards the "current Negro revolution" the CPUSA is very much involved in all of the activities of the Negro groups seeking integration. He stated that the CP is playing a particularly important and influential role in arranging the "Negro marches." He said that

- 3 - BUREAU (100-3-75)(RM)
- 1 - CHICAGO (134-46)(CG 5824-S\*)(RM)
- ① - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
- 1 - NY 100-7629 (COMM-FIL-NAACP)(41)
- 1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL)(414)
- 1 - NY 100-111100 (STANLEY LEVISON)(41)
- 1 - NY 100-111203 (ROY LEVISON)(414)
- 1 - NY 100-80640 (424)

ACE:rvs  
(11)

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

134-91-3811

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 10 1963	
FBI - NEW YORK	

HW

~~SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NY 100-80640

never in the history of the NAACP has the relationship between the Party and the NAACP been so good. He noted that the Party's relations with ROY WILKINS, NAACP leader, are particularly good.

HALL stated also that the Party is no longer concerned about the fact that STANLEY and ROY LEVISON have severed themselves from the Party discipline. According to HALL, the LEVISONs have been using MARTIN LUTHER KING and his movement for their own personal gain. He also stated that the Party will make an investigation to determine how much money - actually belonging to the Party - has been collected by the LEVISONs during the past 10 or 15 years.

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 2 -

7/31/63

AIRTEL

REGISTERED

~~TOP SECRET~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)  
 SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING  
 SM - C  
 (OO: Atlanta)

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per C981157R22  
 Date 6/6/2016

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION HEREIN INASMUCH AS, BY ITS NATURE, SAID INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY NY 694-S\*, A VALUABLE INFORMANT, AS THE SOURCE. UNLESS THIS INFORMATION IS OBTAINED FROM A SOURCE OTHER THAN NY 694-S\*, IT SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED--EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM--IN THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF A REPORT.

ReNYairtel dated 6/13/63, captioned as above, which states that STANLEY and ROY LEVISON, particularly STANLEY, are still MARTIN LUTHER KING's "brain trust."

NY 694-S\* advised SA WILLIAM G. CURRALL on 7/31/63 that he had been informed by ISADORE WOFSEY, CPUSA Reserve Fund functionary, on 7/30/63, that ROY and STANLEY LEVISON are definitely working their way out from under Party discipline. The LEVISONs wish to "run" MARTIN LUTHER KING independently, without

- 2 - BUREAU (100-106670) (RM)
- 1 - ATLANTA (100-5586) (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-111180 (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-111293 (ROY LEVISON) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-19679 (ISADORE WOFSEY) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-7658 (LEM HARRIS) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-136585 (412)

~~TOP SECRET~~

RJQ:msb  
 (12)

Classified by 2116  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 41  
 Date of Declassification Indefinite

134-91-3846  
 SEARCHED  
 SERIALIZED  
 JUL 3 1963  
 [Signature]

~~TOP SECRET~~

NY 100-136585

any interference from the Party; however, the LEVISONs wish to "remain Party people." The CP is in touch with the LEVISONs through WOFSEY himself and through LEMENT HARRIS, another CPUSA Reserve Fund functionary.

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

F B I

~~TOP SECRET~~

Date: 9/16/63

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-392452)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)  
SUBJECT: STANLEY LEVISON  
SM - C

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per C98W5702  
Date 6/16/2016

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION HEREIN INASMUCH AS, BY ITS NATURE, SAID INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY NY 694-S\*, A VALUABLE INFORMANT, AS THE SOURCE. UNLESS THIS INFORMATION IS OBTAINED FROM A SOURCE OTHER THAN NY 694-S\*, IT SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED-- EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM--IN THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF A REPORT.

ReNYairtel to Bureau, 6/13/63, captioned MARTIN LUTHER KING, SM - C, which states that BEN DAVIS has been assigned to be "liaison or intermediary" with the LEVISONs and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL with respect to the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement.

- 3 - BUREAU (100-392452) (RM)
- 1 - ATLANTA (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - CHICAGO (134-46) (INV) (RM-AM)
- ① - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-111203 (ROY LEVISON) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-91330 (HUNTER PITTS O'DELL) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-144189 (FREEDOMWAYS) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-7658 (LEM HARRIS) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-131666 (CPUSA - SOUTHERN REGION) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-111180 (414)

~~TOP SECRET~~

WGC:msb  
(16)

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

134-91-388

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_  
SERIALIZED \_\_\_\_\_  
SEP 16 1963  
FBI - NEW YORK  
H. B. ...

~~TOP SECRET~~

NY 100-111180

NY 694-S\* advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON on 9/13/63 that he had been informed of the following by GUS HALL, General Secretary, CPUSA, on 9/12/63:

With respect to DAVIS' liaison function as noted above, STAN LEVISON has not yet met with BEN DAVIS. The CP is not happy with STAN LEVISON. In the event STAN LEVISON does contact BEN DAVIS, the following proposition will be put to STAN LEVISON by DAVIS:

STAN LEVISON and his brother ROY are to undertake to open a branch office in Atlanta, Georgia, of Freedomways, which branch office is to be headed by HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. The LEVISONs are to finance this branch office. This office will be a bona fide branch office of Freedomways, but it will also be the headquarters for CP work in the South. In the event STAN LEVISON refuses this undertaking, the Party will then know where he stands.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

10/18/63

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

SAC, NEW YORK (100-151548)

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

CPUSA - NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
IS - C

Per C98W57B22  
Date 4/6/2016

ReBulet 10/7/63, reflecting that there is an urgent and imperative need to determine factually the extent of Communist influence in the Negro movement and the need to take positive steps to counter, or otherwise disrupt, these subversive endeavors. Relet requested that NY 694-S\* be interviewed with a view to eliciting from him hard, firm, documented facts relating to definite, important, specific results of accomplishments which the Communist Party (CP), collectively or members individually, have achieved with the American Negro since January 1, 1963, as contrasted to and separated from their activities, programs, plannings and efforts to influence which have not attained their goals, and, two, a summary of all significant demonstrable and documented facts known to him in the past and present bearing upon the extent of successful Communist influence in Negro matters, including data in this summary, if relevant, even if previously reported.

NY 694-S\* was interviewed at length regarding the information required by the Bureau, and the following represents the information furnished by NY 694-S\* in this regard.

- 2 - BUREAU (100-3-116) (RM)
- 1 - CHICAGO (134-46-) (CG 5824-S\*) (RM)
- ① - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 157-905 (MARCH ON WASHINGTON) (412)
- 1 - NY 100-151548 (414)

~~TOP SECRET~~

ACB:A.GG;msb  
(6)

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification indefinite

134-91-3927  
SEARCHED  
SERIALIZED  
INDEXED  
FILED  
OCT 1 1963  
FBI - NEW YORK  
*Wm*

62-116395-1073

I. Communist Influence on the Negro Movement since January 1, 1963

A. Influence of STANLEY and ROY LEVISON and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL on MARTIN LUTHER KING and the Negro Movement

NY 694-S\* recalled that in June, 1963, he had been informed of the following by LEMENT HARRIS, CPUSA Reserve Fund functionary, who stated that he had received this information in the course of meetings that had taken place shortly prior to that time between LEMENT HARRIS and STANLEY LEVISON:

The LEVISONs, particularly STANLEY LEVISON, are still MARTIN LUTHER KING's "brain-trust" -- more than ever before. At a meeting between the LEVISONs, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, MARTIN LUTHER KING, and the chief assistant to the Attorney General (identity unknown to NY 694-S\*), the latter, pointing to the LEVISONs and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, said to MARTIN LUTHER KING, "These men are Party members, watch out for them." KING did not "bat an eyelash" upon hearing this remark, and after the meeting, LEVISON said to KING, "I congratulate you on the way you acted regarding his warning (the Assistant Attorney General's); you are a real Marxist-Leninist. This is how a true Marxist-Leninist acts." As reported to HARRIS by LEVISON, everything KING does, he first discusses with STANLEY LEVISON and accepts the latter's advice wholeheartedly. KING also wholeheartedly accepts the advice of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL as regards matters within the latter's jurisdiction.

By reason of the fact that the LEVISONs feel that the Party has done little, if anything, to assist the fight for civil rights for Negroes, and further, since they feel that the Party, as a result of this "do-nothing" attitude, has lost prestige, they will no longer permit the Party to dominate or control their activities in the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement. They are severing themselves, financially and in a disciplinary way, from the Party.



~~TOP SECRET~~

NY 100-151548

The LEVISONs and O'DELL are still Party members, but do not desire to be openly "linked up" with the Party. Although they are "disenchanted" with the Party, they are not quitting the Party. With respect to the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement, they will act on their own initiative and will not accept instructions from the Party.

Inasmuch as the Party would like to continue to control the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement, BEN DAVIS has been assigned to be "liaison or intermediary" with the LEVISONs and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. Whether or not the LEVISONs and O'DELL will maintain liaison regarding matters concerning the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement is a matter for them to decide. In view of the LEVISONs' statement with respect to advising MARTIN LUTHER KING independently of Party instructions, it would seem that DAVIS may not have any success in maintaining liaison with the LEVISONs and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. The LEVISONs and O'DELL are aware of the fact that BEN DAVIS has been given this assignment by the Party.

According to LEM HARRIS, MARTIN LUTHER KING is referred to by such top Party functionaries as GUS HALL, BEN DAVIS, JAMES JACKSON, and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT as "a true genuine Marxist-Leninist from the top of his head to the tips of his toes." In the Party, the report is that MARTIN LUTHER KING is following a Marxist-Leninist line.

NY 694-S\* recalled that he had been informed by GUS HALL, General Secretary, CPUSA, on 7/9/63 that the Party is no longer concerned about the fact that STANLEY and ROY LEVISON have severed themselves from the Party discipline. HALL noted that with respect to the "current Negro revolution," the CPUSA is very much involved in all of the activities of the Negro groups seeking integration. He stated that the CP is playing a particularly important and influential role in arranging the "Negro marches." He said that never in the history of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has the relationship between the Party and the NAACP been so good. HALL said that the Party's relations with ROY WILKINS, NAACP leader, are particularly good.

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NY 100-151548

NY 694-S\* recalled further that on 7/30/63, he had been informed by LEADORE WOFSY, CPUSA Reserve Fund functionary, that ROY and STANLEY LEVISON are definitely working their way out from under Party discipline. The LEVISONs wish to run MARTIN LUTHER KING independently, without any interference from the Party; however, the LEVISONs wish to remain Party people. The CP is in touch with the LEVISONs through WOFSY himself and through LEM HARRIS.

NY 694-S\* recalled that he had been informed of the following on 9/12/63 by GUS HALL: With respect to the liaison function of BEN DAVIS with the LEVISONs, HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, and the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement, LEVISON has not yet met with DAVIS. The CP is unhappy with STANLEY LEVISON in view of the above.

Further information concerning the LEVISONs will appear hereinafter with respect to their activities prior to 1/1/63.

B. March on Washington,  
August 28, 1963

NY 694-S\* recalled that GUS HALL had returned to New York from Washington shortly after 1:00 p.m. on 8/28/63, on the date when the March on Washington took place. HALL informed NY 694-S\* that in his opinion there were a quarter of a million people in the March. HALL said that one-quarter of the people in the March were white and that he, GUS HALL, and the Party could take credit for there having been so many whites in the March. HALL said that the Party "had a great deal to do with this," and that the Party played a major role in many of these white people going to Washington.

NY 694-S\* stated that in an interview on 10/14/63 with ARNOLD JOHNSON, CPUSA Legislative Director, the latter told him the following: GUS HALL estimated that at least 5000 CP members participated in the March on Washington. HALL, according to JOHNSON, stated that the Party played a very important role in inducing people to attend the said March. He noted that in the

~~TOP SECRET~~

NY 100-151548

Boston area, 100 CP members were responsible for having induced 4500 people to go to Washington to attend the said March. HALL, according to JOHNSON, further stated that similar activity took place in all the important cities throughout the United States, Party members exerting considerable influence in inducing people to attend the March on Washington. According to ARNOLD JOHNSON, important trade union leaders, such as HARRY VAN ARSDALE, acknowledged that the Party was instrumental in having induced many people to participate in the March on Washington.

With respect to how the Party was instrumental in influencing the March on Washington movement, JOHNSON stated that before the March, JAMES JACKSON, member of the National Committee of the CPUSA and editor of "The Worker," conferred for eight hours with JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Also, according to ARNOLD JOHNSON, BEN DAVIS, National Secretary of the CPUSA, worked closely with "the co-chairman of the March" with respect to working out details of the said March.

JOHNSON noted that two CP members, to wit, OZZIE DAVIS and RUBY DEE, were members of a "subcommittee" of the March on Washington. JOHNSON further advised that before the actual March, there was a meeting of the entire March on Washington committee, and that the question arose whether one or the other of the March leaders should eulogize W. E. B. DU BOIS at the memorial service connected with the March. According to ARNOLD JOHNSON, ROY WILKINS insisted that he be permitted to deliver the eulogy. JOHNSON noted that despite <sup>that</sup> it was a publicly known fact that W. E. B. DU BOIS, before his death, had espoused the Communist cause and became a CPUSA member, there was no reference made to this fact on the part of the committee when it was being decided who should eulogize DU BOIS.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

C. "Freedomways," a Quarterly Magazine  
Published by Freedomways Associates,  
Inc., 799 Broadway, New York City

On 1/17/61, GUS HALL stated that the CPUSA had allocated \$2,000 for the establishment of a proposed Negro quarterly publication, and that he had given this money to ESTHER JACKSON, wife of JAMES E. JACKSON, Editor of "The Worker."

According to JAMES JACKSON, on 2/17/61, the CPUSA would begin publication of a Negro quarterly magazine in April, 1961. ESTHER JACKSON was to be the Business Manager of this publication.

According to GUS HALL on 5/21/61, the magazine "Freedomways" was set up by JAMES JACKSON for the CPUSA, with the approval of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPUSU). GUS HALL stated that thus far, this publication had received \$7,000 from the CPUSA.

NY 694-S\* advised on 10/15/63 that the CPUSA is furnishing money to "Freedomways" from funds made available by the Soviets at the annual rate of \$20,000.

On 9/12/63, GUS HALL stated that a proposition was to be presented to STANLEY LEVISON by BENJAMIN J. DAVIS as follows: STANLEY and ROY LEVISON should open a branch office of "Freedomways" in Atlanta, Ga., this branch office to be headed by HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. The LEVISONs should finance this branch office, which would be a bona fide branch office of "Freedomways," but which could also be the headquarters for CP work in the South. (In the event STANLEY LEVISON should refuse this undertaking, the Party would then know where STANLEY LEVISON stood.)

On 10/4/63, ARNOLD JOHNSON stated that "Freedomways" is "one of the CP's biggest achievements," in that the aforesaid publication is now reaching the intellectual and middle-class Negroes, and whereas in the past only 5000 copies of the magazine had been printed, 10,000 copies were made at its last printing.

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NY 100-151548

NY 694-S\* noted that he personally has observed Negroes on subways and trains reading "Freedomways."

D. CPUSA Influence on Trade  
Union Activity in Detroit

ARNOLD JOHNSON stated on 10/14/63 that in Detroit there is a "Negro trade union committee," the leader of which is COLEMAN YOUNG, a member of the CPUSA. According to JOHNSON, this group is influential in municipal politics in Detroit and also in politics in the State of Michigan. He stated that this group had considerable influence in the last election in Detroit.

E. CPUSA Trade Union Delegation to the  
"May Day" 1963 Celebration in Moscow, USSR

NY 694-S\* recalled that the 7-member trade union delegation sent to Moscow, USSR, for the May 1, 1963, "May Day" celebration included five Negroes.

F. Greetings from the CPSU to BENJAMIN J.  
DAVIS on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday

NY 694-S\* advised that upon the instruction of GUS HALL, a request was sent to the Central Committee of the CPSU in September, 1963, asking the Soviets to print "greetings" in "Pravda" on 9/8/63, on the occasion of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS' 60th birthday. The CCCPSU was requested to describe DAVIS as a proud son of the American working class, an outstanding leader of the Negro people, and as a person who had been devoted to Marxism-Leninism and the propagation of Marxism-Leninism in the USA for the past 30 years. The CCCPSU was requested to further refer to DAVIS as a leader in the struggle for the Negro and the white worker, a leader in the struggle for labor unity, and a National Secretary of the CPUSA.

GUS HALL on 9/12/63, expressed gratification by reason of the fact that the Russians had printed birthday greetings in "Pravda," which greetings followed the lines suggested by HALL.

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NY 100-151548

(The 9/8/63 issue of "Pravda," official organ of the CCCPSU, did contain an article laudatory of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, which article was responsive to the request of GUS HALL.)

G. Reaction of Atlanta Negro Bar Association to BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

On 10/14/63, LEM HARRIS stated that when BEN DAVIS, several months ago, went to Atlanta, Ga., to observe the Negro situation there, he attended a testimonial dinner given in his honor by the Negro Bar Association of Atlanta. Present on this occasion were a number of Negro members of the State Legislature of Georgia. DAVIS was given a most enthusiastic reception by all the Negroes at the dinner, who expressed themselves as being particularly pleased to be able to honor a man such as BEN DAVIS who had done so much for the Southern Negro.

II. Communist Influence on the Negro Movement before January 1, 1963

A. Influence of STANLEY and ROY LEVISON and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL on MARTIN LUTHER KING and the Negro Movement

On 1/4/62, ISADORE WOFSEY advised as follows: STANLEY LEVISON is doing important work for the CPUSA in his role of adviser to the Southern Negro leader MARTIN LUTHER KING. LEVISON wrote the speech which KING delivered at the AFL-CIO convention in Florida. LEVISON is active in KING's "right-to-vote movement" in the South, and he was instrumental in raising \$200,000 for this movement.

In early February, 1962, LEM HARRIS stated that shortly before that time, he, HARRIS, transmitted to GUS HALL a "confidential verbal report" on Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING furnished to HARRIS by STANLEY LEVISON, KING's attorney and adviser, who is a secret member of the CP and a regular contributor to the CPUSA Reserve Fund. When MARTIN LUTHER KING was invited to address the AFL-CIO convention

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NY 100-151548

some time ago, KING, on LEVISON's advice, first obtained approval to do so from A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Negro labor leader, who, if he had not been consulted in the matter, might have felt that KING's making a speech at this convention was a blow to RANDOLPH's prestige. KING delivered a remarkably effective speech at this convention, and, as a result, received invitations from numerous labor leaders, including "MC DONALD of Steel," to address their respective unions. As the outstanding champion of Negro rights in the country, KING is a powerful political influence, recognized as such by the higher echelons of the Democratic Party. He has access to Attorney General ROBERT KENNEDY and President KENNEDY, who, politically, need KING, particularly in the South, where in cities like Atlanta and New Orleans the Negro vote now constitutes the balance of power and where KING controls the Negro vote.

JAMES HOFFA, Teamster Union boss, appreciates the political power of KING, particularly the fact that KING can influence the 90,000 members of the Teamster Union.

What LEVISON particularly wanted GUS HALL to know is that "KING is a wholehearted Marxist, who has studied it (Marxism), believes in it, and agrees with it, but because of his being a Minister of religion, does not dare to espouse it publicly."

JAMES JACKSON, on 3/7/62, remarked that an article in a recent edition of "The Nation," ostensibly written by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., was actually written by HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. (It is noted that the 3/3/62 issue of "The Nation" contains an article attributed to MARTIN LUTHER KING., JR., entitled "Report on Civil Rights--Fumbling on the New Frontier," which is a criticism of the KENNEDY Administration's efforts on behalf of civil rights.)

On 5/1/62, LEMENT HARRIS commented to the effect that STANLEY LEVISON, by reason of his association with the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement, "is doing the most important work in the CP today." HARRIS remarked jubilantly that by reason of the Administration's being politically dependent upon the MARTIN LUTHER KING movement, which can "swing" the balance of power in

the South, the Party has the KENNEDYS "in its pocket."

GUS HALL stated on 7/23/62, that HUNTER PITTS O'DELL is still representing the CPUSA and that he is still on the National Committee of the CPUSA. HALL further remarked that O'DELL is a "brain-truster" for MARTIN LUTHER KING and is doing an excellent job.

B. CPUSA Influence through  
W. E. B. DU BOIS

JAMES E. JACKSON stated on 11/17/61 that the next edition of "The Worker" would give considerable space to reporting that W. E. B. DU BOIS had become a member of the CPUSA. DU BOIS was then chief political mentor to NKRUMAH of Ghana and NKRUMAH was arranging that DU BOIS live in a palace in Ghana.

According to JACKSON, DU BOIS' joining the CPUSA was part of an important "political build-up" of NKRUMAH, who intended to be the first "social democrat" in Africa to introduce "socialism as such" on the African continent. With DU BOIS, an internationally-known Negro, and now a Communist, as his chief adviser, NKRUMAH expected to make his position in Africa similar to that of Castro in Cuba and Sukarno in Indonesia, both of whom had leading Communists as their chief advisers. NKRUMAH, who first secured KHRUSHCHEV's approval to bring DU BOIS to Ghana in the latter's role of political mentor to NKRUMAH, expected that people throughout Africa would be greatly impressed by the fact that an internationally-known Negro like DU BOIS had assumed so important a post in Ghana.

C. Miscellaneous

NY 694-S\* stated that with respect to the following information, he, at this time, is unable to submit specific sources and dates. He states, however, that he did learn, as a result of his Party associations, that the Party had influence with regard to the following:



"People's Voice"

"People's Voice" was a Negro publication controlled by the Party to the extent that the Party furnished money for its maintenance and CP members controlled the policy of the said paper.

NY 694-S\*, at the direction of the CPUSA, gave to MAX YERGAN and ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, who were then in control of "People's Voice," \$150,000 of CPUSA funds for the maintenance of said paper.

Council on African Affairs

The Council on African Affairs was a Party-controlled organization in that the organization was controlled by MAX YERGAN, who was then a CP member.

NAACP

The NAACP, in the 1940's, had among its top leadership such CPUSA leaders as JAMES FORD and PAUL ROBESON. To the extent that these individuals and others like them could direct policy within the NAACP, the said organization was influenced by the CP.

"Our World"

"Our World" was a Negro magazine which was financed during the 1940's and 1950's by RAY INGERSOLL, who at that time was a CPUSA donor. This magazine at the time was controlled by JOHN DAVIS, who was a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

BEN DAVIS, as New York Councilman

The CPUSA has always considered it an outstanding achievement of the Party that BEN DAVIS was able to become a New York City Councilman.

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, as Congressman

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The CPUSA also considered it an achievement of the CPUSA that ADAM CLAYTON POWELL was elected to the Congress of the United States.

III. Informant's Own Views, Opinions, Interpretations and Evaluations of the Information Furnished Above, along with an Estimate of How Many Negro Communists are Active Party Members as of October, 1953

With respect to the interpretation that should be placed upon the fact that the LEVISONs no longer accept Party discipline as regards their influence over MARTIN LUTHER KING, the informant advised as follows:

It must be noted that the LEVISONs still want to be considered members of the CPUSA. There is no information available reflecting that they do not continue to be ideological Communists. A distinction must be drawn between control by the CP per se and otherwise. From a practical standpoint, the distinction here is one merely of tactics. As ideological Communists, the LEVISONs presumably will continue to influence the Negro movement in accordance with set Marxist tenets. It is to be noted that their disenchantment with the CPUSA is due to the fact that the CPUSA, in their opinion, has not done enough to influence the Negro movement, has not seized the offensive whereby the Party could assume its vanguard role with respect to the Negro drive for civil rights. It should be kept in mind that the Party is an agent or tool of Moscow and that not to take instructions from the agent does not necessarily mean that there will be any deviation from the policies of the principal.

With regard to W. E. B. DU BOIS, NY 694-S\* stated that the fact that a man of DU BOIS' stature in the Negro movement became a CPUSA member necessarily must have a tremendous influence on the Negro population in general. The fact that such an "elder statesman" in the Negro Movement had espoused the Communist Party might well cause Negroes outside the CP to lend a sympathetic ear to the CPUSA.

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NY 694-S\* thinks that the fact that the CPUSA sent five Negroes to Moscow as members of a 7-member delegation would create a favorable impression upon the Negro community.

He also considers that the Soviet recognition in "Pravda" of BEN DAVIS' birthday likewise would have a very favorable effect upon the Negro community, indicating that the Soviets are aware of the Negro struggle for civil rights in the USA and of BEN DAVIS' pre-eminent position in the Negro movement.

NY 694-S\* called attention to the fact that the direct circulation of "Freedomways" does not necessarily reflect the actual number of readers who could be exposed to the ideas set forth in this publication. It is fair to assume that more people read this magazine than purchase it.

NY 694-S\* stated that it would be futile for him to estimate the number of Negro Communists active as Party members as of October, 1963. He stated he has no information in this regard and suggests that possibly CG 5824-S\*, who attended a recent NEC meeting in New York where the Negro situation was under discussion, might possibly have such information.

#### IV. Party Plans for Increasing Such Activities

NY 694-S\* called attention to the proposal to be put to STANLEY LEVISON; namely, that a "Freedomways" branch be established in Atlanta, Ga., which office could be used as a headquarters for CP work in the South.

NY 694-S\* also noted that possibly CG 5824-S\* is in possession of current information regarding Party plans for infiltration of the Negro movement inasmuch as there was discussion in this regard at the recent NEC meeting held in NYC.

NY 100-151548

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V. Suggestions for the Development of Further Factual Information to Determine the Extent of Communist Activities

VI. Means by Which the Bureau Might Counter or Otherwise Disrupt the Party's Efforts Relating to Racial Matters and the Negro

NY 694-S\* stated that by reason of his assignment, which is concerned primarily with apparatus work, he is not in a position to offer constructive suggestions, or suggestions which have not already been considered by the Bureau. He commented that it is obvious that whatever sources the Bureau has should be alerted and extended to cover Communist activities and influences in the Negro movement.

Observations and recommendations of the NYO with respect to countering the Party's efforts in racial matters have been set forth in NYO let 10/14/63, captioned "CPUSA - COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY, IS - C."

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11/23

SAC, NEW YORK (100-74560)

11/20/62

SA GEORGE EDWIN JONES (#41)

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - FUNDS  
IS - C

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per C98W57B22  
Date 6/6/2006

Extreme caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein inasmuch as, by its nature, said information tends to identify NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant, as the source. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY 694-S\*, it should not be included--even in paraphrased form--in the investigative section of a report.

On 11/19/62, NY 694-S\* advised SA GEORGE EDWIN JONES of the following:

On 11/19/62, NY 694-S\* met with LEM HARRIS and the latter advised that on the afternoon of that date, he, HARRIS, had a <sup>scheduled</sup> meeting with STANLEY LEVISON, who was to give HARRIS \$5,000.00 for the CPUSA.

LEM HARRIS further advised informant that the financial situation at Prompt Press is in very bad shape. As soon as Prompt Press gets some cash available, the Internal Revenue Service people seem to arrive on the scene asking for money. A few days ago, they had \$1,500.00 in the "till" and the Internal Revenue Service demanded \$1,900.00. No sooner had they paid that when another Internal Revenue Service man arrived on the scene demanding \$3,400.00. LEM HARRIS stated that he borrowed money from every possible source so that the latter amount could be paid off, and then another Internal Revenue Service man demanded \$1,700.00 from New Union Press.

- 1-NY (134-91) (INV) (41)
- 1-NY (100-123821) (CPUSA Reserve Fund) (414)
- 1-NY (100-111130) (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)
- 1-NY (100-7653) (LEM HARRIS) (414)
- 1-NY (100-31769) (Prompt Press) (41)
- 1-NY (100-74560) (41)

GEJ:fd  
(6)

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from 3, Category 7  
Date of declassification           

134-91-3425

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
NOV 20 1962	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*WMA*

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-74560

LEM HARRIS further stated that the landlord in the premises formerly occupied by Prompt Press has demanded between \$7,000.00 and \$8,000.00 to get the premises back in shape. Informant noted that apparently damage was caused by moving the heavy printing presses of Prompt Press.

LEM HARRIS further advised informant that he was advised by STANLEY LEVISON that the scrap metal business in Pittsburgh is going bankrupt. LEVISON allegedly stated that previously "they" had realized some profits from the business, but this year "they" will be lucky if they get off at all. HARRIS advised informant that prospects for acquisition of money for the year 1963 looked bad. Last year they got \$35,000.00 and this year (1962) they expect from \$20,000.00 to \$25,000.00. According to HARRIS, the money acquired for the year 1963 may be one-half of that which will be acquired for 1962.

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Date: 2/13/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-151548)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
IS-C  
(OO: NY)

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per C98W57B22  
Date 6/6/2016

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum dated 2/13/64, and one copy is enclosed for Atlanta.

The source used in this letterhead memorandum is NY 4099-S\*.

Sources used in the characterizations are as follows:

- 5 - Bureau (100-3-116) (Encls. 7) (RM)
  - (1 - 100-438794) (COMINFIL SCLC)
  - (1 - 100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)
- 1 - New York (100- ) (SAUL MILLS) (423)
- 1 - New York (100-152510) (BILLY ROWE) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN) (414)
- 1 - New York (100-151548) (414)

JCS:gmd  
(15)

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

100-111180-1357

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NY 100-151548

Characterization of SAUL MILLS - LOUIS F. BUDENZ.

Characterization of STANLEY LEVISON - NY 694-S\*.

Characterization of CLARENCE JONES - ALBERT BROWN,  
Chairman of Columbia University LYL in 1954.

This letterhead memorandum has been classified "Secret" because it contains information from NY 4099-S\*. This source has furnished highly sensitive information with respect to the racial situation in the New York area and Communist infiltration thereof. It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature.

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SECRET

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
February 13, 1964

Bureau 100-3-116

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per C98W57B22  
Date 6/6/2016

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America - Negro Question  
Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

On February 11, 1964, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information which indicated that Stanley Levison contacted Clarence Jones on that date. Levison told Jones that they should get the lists (of contributors) from Ruth (Bailey, who is an employee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) office in New York) as soon as possible, and Levison mentioned that she has the names of all people "over \$20.00". Levison said he does not like the list being in her possession because of "the uncertainty", and Jones replied that he would get the list. Levison told Jones to bring the list to him either at his office or at the Gandhi Society office. According to Levison, Adele (Cantor, who was recently employed by the SCLC) would complete the necessary work on the list. Levison mentioned that he would like to get the list before Ruth learns of the change which is to be made, and he suggested that Jones tell her that Atlanta (office of the SCLC) wants the list.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

SECRET

Group I

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

Classified by 2116  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Infinite

Searched \_\_\_\_\_  
Serialized 116  
Indexed \_\_\_\_\_  
Filed 117

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-111180-1356.

SECRET

~~TOP SECRET~~

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America - Negro Question  
Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

With respect to the foregoing information, it is to be noted that the New York office of the SCLC is in the process of being reorganized. Adele Cantor was recently employed to work in the SCLC office.

Levison instructed Jones to tell Ruth Bailey that in the reorganization there would be no job for her and that Bayard (Rustin) is to take over one aspect of the work. Levison told Jones that he should not mention to her that Rustin is to have a secretary. Levison suggested Jones tell Bailey that Billy Rowe might have a job for her when he gets some project going.

Billy Rowe is a public relations man in New York City, and has been given the task of fund raising for the SCLC.

Jones told Levison that Saul Mills is working with a man "in a direct mail appeal outfit" and the man wants to do something for the civil rights movement and for King (Martin Luther King). According to Jones, this individual is located at 375 Park Avenue (New York City). Levison indicated he was pleased with this and instructed Jones to set up a meeting before he (Levison) and Adele "go south". Levison said that they will have to get "a mailing out soon and the guy may be able to help". Levison remarked that they will use their own lists from "The Nation" and the Committee for an Effective Congress for a 60,000 mailing.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in May, 1950, that Saul Mills was one of those persons whom he knew to be a concealed Communist.

- 2 -

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America - Negro Question  
Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in July, 1963, that as of July 16, 1963, Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA).

The "New York Herald Tribune" issue of August 14, 1963, page 7, column 1, contains an article captioned, "Thurmond Assails A Leader of March". The article stated that, in answer to charges by Senator Strom Thurmond, Bayard Rustin admitted joining the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1936. Rustin also reportedly stated that he broke completely with the YCL in June, 1941.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker", issue of February 25, 1957, page 1, column 1, contained an article which stated that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was one of eight non-Communist observers at the Communist Party National Convention in 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

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Re: Communist Party, United States  
of America - Negro Question  
Communist Influence In Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel for  
the Gandhi Society For Human Rights, 15  
East 40th Street, New York City.

A confidential source, who has furnished  
reliable information in the past, advised  
on February 26, 1957, that he had identified  
a photograph of Clarence Jones as a person  
whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954  
to be a member of and in a position of  
leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated pursuant to  
Executive Order 10450.

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FBI

Date: 2/18/64

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-151548)  
SUBJECT: CPUSA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE  
IN RACIAL MATTERS  
IS-C  
(OO: NY)

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per C98W57B22  
Date 6/6/2016

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum dated 2/18/64; copies are also enclosed for Atlanta, Honolulu and Los Angeles.

Sources used in the letterhead memorandum are as follows:

1. NY 4092-S\*

- 5-Bureau (100-3-116) (Encl. 7) (RM)
  - (1-100-438794) (COMINFIL SCLC)
  - (1-100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1-Atlanta (100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Honolulu (100- ) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (Encl. 1) (Info) (FM)
- 1-Los Angeles (100- ) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (41)
- 1-New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (414)
- 1-New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (414)
- 1-New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (414)
- 1-New York (157-1036) (BOYCOTT DEMONSTRATION AT NYC PUBLIC SCHOOLS) (412)
- 1-New York (100-151548) (414)

JCS:rmv  
(15)

Classified by 2/16/20-111180-363  
Exempt from GDS, Category \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ infinite \_\_\_\_\_

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NY 100-151548

2. NY 4099-S\*

(It is to be noted that NY 3810-S\* furnished the same information as NY 4092-S\*).

Sources used in the characterization are as follows:

Source used to characterize STANLEY LEVISON - NY 694-S\*

Source used to characterize CLARENCE JONES - ALBERT BROWN, Chairman of the Columbia University LYL in 1954

This letterhead memorandum has been classified "Secret" because it contains information from NY 4092-S\* and NY 4099-S\*. These sources have furnished highly sensitive information with respect to the racial situation in the New York area and the Communist infiltration thereof. It is felt that this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature.

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**SECRET**  
**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**  
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

In Reply, Please Refer to Bu 100-3-116  
 File No.

New York, New York  
 February 18, 1964

~~TOP SECRET~~

Re: Communist Party,  
 United States of America  
 Negro Question  
 Communist Influence in  
 Racial Matters  
 Internal Security - C

On February 15, 1964, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information which indicated that Stanley Levison contacted Clarence Jones on that date. They discussed the mailing list for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Jones promised that he would go to the SCLC office (in New York) and get the list. Jones said that Adele Cantor (a new employee of the SCLC in New York) could pick the list up at his office. Levison told Jones that this would be a good time for Jones to tell Ruth Bailey (an employee of the SCLC in New York) that she is no longer needed and to obtain a door key to the office. Levison asked if Jones had a key to the safety deposit box for the SCLC, and Jones replied that he did not have a key. Levison stated he could probably have a key made because he paid the box rent himself and was one of the signators on the box.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per C98W57B22  
 Date 4/1/2016

**SECRET**  
 Group 1  
 Excluded from automatic  
 downgrading and  
 declassification

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Searched~~  
~~Serialized~~  
~~Indexed~~  
~~Filed~~

Classified by 2116  
 Exempt from GDS, Category 1

SECRET

~~TOP SECRET~~

Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America  
Negro Question  
Communist Influence in  
Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

Jones stated that he and Ann (his wife) "have to do something about some money which they might come into in the future," and he wanted to know if Levison would serve as a trustee along with him. Jones stated that this concerns purely personal affairs. Levison said he would think about it.

Levison stated it was very important for Jones to get in touch with Martin Luther King regarding the article coming out in "The Nation" concerning the boycott (of New York City Public Schools) before it goes out of date. Jones said he would contact King who is in Los Angeles.

On February 16, 1964, a second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information which indicated that Clarence Jones contacted Martin Luther King at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Los Angeles on that date. Jones asked King if he had received the article for "The Nation" concerning the Senate filibuster. Jones said "they" wanted King to mail the article immediately "so it will be timely and so they will be able to obtain 'The Nation's' mailing lists in exchange for the SCLC mailing list".

King mentioned that he was getting ready to preach at Reverend Tom Kilgore's church. Jones asked King to tell Kilgore (who is an official in the SCLC) that he (Jones) has mailed the names and addresses of people who might be considered in staffing the SCLC office in Los Angeles. King further stated that he was going to Hawaii from Los Angeles and would not return until February 24.

SECRET

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Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America  
Negro Question  
Communist Influence in  
Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

Jones stated he wanted Adele Cantor and "a person in New York" to come down to Atlanta and get together with Ed Clayton (who is Director of Public Relations for the SCLC). Jones said he did not want them to come down until King was in town.

On February 14, 1964, the second confidential source furnished information which indicated that Clarence Jones contacted Ruth Bailey at the SCLC office in New York on that date. Jones mentioned that he had been talking to Ed Clayton and that he was interested in the status of the "so called gold carat list." Jones asked if there was such a list. She stated that there is a "gold carat list" and that it is maintained at the office, and she indicated that the list is made up of people who will contribute \$20.00 and up. Jones indicated that he would like to come to the office and go through the list.

The boycott of New York City Public Schools took place on February 3, 1964. It was a demonstration to protest the alleged racial imbalance in the New York City Public Schools.

With respect to the information concerning Adele Cantor and "a person in New York" going to Atlanta to meet with Ed Clayton, it is to be noted that the source on February 11, 1964, furnished information which indicated that Levison and Adele were to "go south."

SECRET

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Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America  
Negro Question  
Communist Influence in  
Racial Matters  
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in July, 1963, that as of July 16, 1963, Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA).

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society For Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 26, 1957, that he had identified a photograph of Clarence Jones as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC, NY (100-111180)

FROM : SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON (41)

SUBJECT: STANLEY LEVISON  
SM - C

DATE: 4/3/64

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DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

Per CARL W 57 B 22  
Date 4/6/2016

On 3/31/64, NY 694-S\* advised that he had talked to LEM HARRIS regarding the latter's contacting STANLEY LEVISON for the purpose of determining whether or not LEVISON is a member in good standing of the CPUSA.

According to NY 694-S\*, HARRIS stated that he had made several attempts to contact LEVISON, without success, however. HARRIS said that he eventually made telephonic contact with LEVISON and requested that LEVISON confer with him regarding an important matter. LEVISON replied that ordinarily he would be happy to do so but at the moment he was preparing to go "on a trip," from which he would return in 6 weeks. LEVISON further stated that on his return to New York he would be happy to confer with LEM HARRIS.

LEVISON, according to LEM HARRIS, implied that he was going to Equador, but HARRIS stated he did not know anything further regarding LEVISON's plans.

NY 694-S\* advised that in view of this situation, he does not expect to obtain any information regarding LEVISON's CP status until after LEVISON's return to the United States, at which time LEM HARRIS again will attempt to confer with LEVISON regarding the latter's Party status.

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED WITH RESPECT TO DISSEMINATION OF INFO HEREIN INASMUCH AS, BY ITS NATURE, SAID INFO TENDS TO IDENTIFY NY 694-S\*, A VALUABLE INFORMANT, AS THE SOURCE. UNLESS THIS INFO IS OBTAINED FROM A SOURCE OTHER THAN NY 694-S\*, IT SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED--EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM--IN THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF A REPORT.

- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-7658 (LEM HARRIS) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-111180 (41)

100-111180-1409

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 6 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]*

ACB:msb

Classified (3) by 2116 ~~TOP SECRET~~

Exempt from GDS, Category 2

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~TOP SECRET~~

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-111180)

DATE: 4/20/64

FROM : SA JAMES M. KIRBY (414)

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

SUBJECT: STANLEY LEVISON  
IS-C

Per C98W57B22  
Date 6/6/2016

On 4/7/64, NY 694-S\* made the following comments regarding STANLEY LEVISON's status with the CP, USA:

What the Party thinks of LEVISON's:

LEVISON has criticized the Party for not being militant enough in the civil rights struggle and that the Party had played no role in the civil rights struggle. This criticism was conveyed to the Party thru LEM HARRIS. This was many months ago. HALL, JAMES JACKSON, BEN DAVIS and LEM HARRIS discussed this. In the criticism LEVISON mentioned that not only the Party did nothing but the "Daily Worker" did nothing and the only one he respects in the Party for having conducted some token fight for civil rights was BEN DAVIS. It was decided that BEN DAVIS be in contact with LEVISON's and in all that time they never made any attempt to contact DAVIS; made no attempt to contact HALL or WOFSY or anyone else in Party.

HALL's opinion is that LEVISON's are opportunists who, now that they have milked the Party dry (have no further opportunity to make money on the Party) have no use for it. They are opportunists in the sense of being ultra leftwingers who disagree with the Party line on the question of civil rights. They are opportunists in the sense that they want to control and keep MARTIN LUTHER KING, using him politically for their own personal gain. HALL is convinced these people are no good. There is very little, in his opinion, which would convince them to come back but the door has been left open thru DAVIS. But they didn't contact DAVIS and nothing was done.

1- 100-111203 (ROY BENNETT)

JMK:mvl  
(2)

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-111180-1415

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 21 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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NY 100-111180

HALL has discussed this with NY 694-S\* about four times when their names have come up for some reason or other. HALL of opinion they absconded with building on 73rd St. which HALL through belonged to the CP; with money after WINER died. They enriched themselves first and gave the crumbs over to the Party but should they come back HALL would accept them providing DAVIS is in contact with them. DAVIS has made no contact. CG 5824-S\* is also of same opinion as he knew them at one time and dealt with them both politically and financially and was in contact with them during the underground days before WINER died. NY 694-S\* also of same opinion, that they were very dogmatic, were axe men.

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

9/23/64

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

DOWNGRADED TO

**SECRET**

CIRM  
IS-C

Per C98W57022  
Date 6/6/2016

Re Chicago letter to Director dated 8/4/64, captioned as above.

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

The following concerning STANLEY LEVISON's relationship with the Communist Party and MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., was derived from NY 694-S\* on 9/18/64. His information was received from LEM HARRIS on that date; who stated that he talked to LEVISON shortly before he went to Russia on August 4, 1954:

LEVISON, in relating why he left MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., said that when the article by columnist JOSEPH ALSOP, exposing his relationship with KING, appeared in the press, KING told him that he was of no value to him as he had been in the past, and said if he was to remain with him, his association would have to be open and above board. Furthermore, KING said

- 4-Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
  - (1-100-10670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.)
  - (1-100-1392452) (STANLEY LEVISON)
- 1-Atlanta (100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.) (Info) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-153735) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.) (42)
- 1-New York (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (42)
- 1-New York (100-7058) (LEM HARRIS) (42)
- 1-New York (100-153735) (42)

JMK:rmv  
(9)

Classified by 2116  
Declassify on: OADR, Date of Declassification Indefinite

~~TOP SECRET~~

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 23 1964	
FBI - NEW YORK	

*Purkey*

102-46395-1073

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NY 100-153735

he wanted LEVISON to be an ardent and honest follower, and stipulated that for LEVISON to remain as an adviser, he (LEVISON) would have to make a public repudiation of Communism and be a "non-Communist", which he refused to do. His refusal, LEVISON said, resulted in his dismissal by KING.

With respect to the fact that LEVISON has kept away from the Party, LEVISON said he had done so to improve his position of influence and strength in the Negro movement. LEVISON continues to be critical, of the Party, HARRIS said. This criticism arises over the Party's failure to aid in the Negro movement.

In reply to a question of HARRIS as to why he did not see BENJAMIN J. DAVIS (alluding to DAVIS' position as intermediary between LEVISON and the Party), LEVISON gave no answer, but commented instead, that he felt the Party was not doing enough in the racial field.

With reference to his working back into the racial field following his dismissal by KING, LEVISON said he went to the National Jewish Committee and sold them on the idea of a small businessmen's committee. The Committee, LEVISON said, is composed of whites and Negroes whose purpose is to aid Negro people to get into small businesses. The Committee is headed by LEVISON and has an appropriation of \$100,000.

According to NY 694-S\*, HARRIS opined that LEVISON is not anti-Party, and feels that LEVISON should be given an opportunity to try to regain his position of strength in the Negro field.

NY 694-S\* is of the opinion that if LEVISON desired to "count himself out" (to completely disassociate himself), he would have refused to see HARRIS; furthermore, he would not have spent approximately two hours with him. NY 694-S\* is of the opinion that LEVISON is hanging on because he has no influence as an individual, but must have an organization behind him to give him strength.

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NY 100-15373

Furthermore, the source said, "I do not think LEVISON should be dismissed (discounted completely) although it is positive that he has not given any money in the recent past."

- Referenced Chicago letter reported information derived from CG 5824-S\* on 7/29/64, concerning a discussion with LENA SCHERER. She told of a recent contact with LEM HARRIS and ISADORE WOPSY, during which time they considered Party finances. She was told by HARRIS and WOPSY that STANLEY LEVISON and his brother ROY (ROY BENNETT) were not contributing to the Party, but instead, might be contributing to MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., or some other civil rights movement. WOPSY and HARRIS said, "The LEVISONs are far removed from the Party."

In view of the patent ambiguities in the information received from CG 5824-S\* and NY 694-S\*, no effort is being made at this time to update the characterization of LEVISON.

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